HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section

Printed in Two Sections

FALLOUT: *The Facts* (page 3)
GIRARD CASE: *The Deal* (page 3)
DEMOCRATS: *Fatal Weakness* (page 1)
APPEASEMENT: *New Line on China* (page 2)
ECONOMY: *A New Organization* (page 4)

The Knowland Story: The outstanding political development in party politics today is the Knowland-for-President boom. In less than six months, the Senator from California has grown from a rarely mentioned "rank outsider" to the odds-on favorite for the Republican nomination in 1960.

It all began back in early January, when political writers declined to consider anyone save Vice President Nixon as the successor to retiring President Eisenhower four years hence. "Modern Republicanism" enjoyed a new prestige in those days, and it seemed likely that Nixon, with Ike's blessing, could have the honor without significant opposition.

Then, with what experts later termed "exquisite timing," Knowland on January 7 announced that he would not run for re-election to the Senate next year, but would return to California. The inference drawn by most reporters, who know Knowland and California politics, was that the Senator would run for Governor of that state next year, as a stepping-stone to the Presidential nomination in 1960. Control of that state's large delegation by a Governor insures major billing in the GOP quadrennial convention.

Dopesters cracked: "While Nixon picks up White House support, Knowland is picking up delegates."

Then came the California Senator's big break. The announcement of Ike's $71.8 billion Budget started a country-wide revolt against spending — dooming the "Modern Republicanism" with which, whether he likes it or not, Nixon is associated. The innate conservatism of the country made itself felt in militant rejection of the expanded Budget — and Knowland, as acknowledged leader of the right wing (which is about 90 per cent of the GOP), began to lead what is regarded as "the wave of the future."

Together with Senator Bridges, Knowland took an independent-of-the-White-House stand on economy, urging substantial cuts in the Budget — particularly in foreign aid, and demanding also elimination of Federal aid to education from the Budget. Reports from the opinion sampling at the recent five regional GOP party meetings show that Knowland quite accurately reflects the sentiments of the party rank and file.

At the above-mentioned GOP meetings, county chairmen predominated among the party officials present. This element exerts a decisive influence on the "build up" and choice of the party nominee. It is known that Gallup — whose polls on Presidential nominations in their early stages constitute "familiarity-with-the-name" contests — samples lists of county chairmen of both parties and analyzes responses of the same.

On taxation, Knowland has made clear that the present 15-month extension of the current rate of corporate and excise taxes is the last for which he will vote. He urges a definite program of tax reduction which will include all brackets.

Capital observers are impressed by his ten strikes on foreign policy. He was first to attack application of sanctions against Israel unless sanctions were applied against other UN-declared aggressors — specifically Russia, for its terror in Hungary. Week after week, Knowland gains favor for his critical attitude and pronouncements on foreign aid and his opposition to assistance for Communist Poland and Yugoslavia.

On these various political fronts, Knowland wins victories — while the original odds-on favorite Nixon now loses popular support as he seems to trim his policy close to the unpopular White House line.

The result has been that the political picture of January has been reversed by June. Within the past fortnight, HUMAN EVENTS, after canvassing expert political opinion in the Capital, found that — even among "liberal" commentators here — it is believed Knowland would win the nomination if the Republicans met in convention next week.

Finally, newsmen here expect the Senator to gain a head start by the signal lack of any opposition to him. As they see it: In the GOP, there is only Nixon, with dwindling support; in the Democratic party, there is no candidate material whatsoever. To them, Knowland looks like a "natural."

Fatal Weakness of Democrats: Republican strategists observe with satisfaction that the Democrats simply have no outstanding leader for 1960. But these GOP politicos do not, as a consequence, rest easy; they fear that the Democrats may develop a formidable stand on a key issue and that the issue will produce "the man" in the next four years. The issue might be "economy," or "danger of socialism."

They note with some vexation that Democratic Senator Talmadge of Georgia was getting pretty near the GOP's Achilles heel on June 1 when he told a Democratic meeting that the "Albatross of socialistic government which weighed against the Democrats in 1952 and 1956 is now around the neck of the Republican party," and went on to denounce the ex-

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travagance of Republican "global planners." That hurts — agreed Republican leaders who know their own party's weakness.

But on the very same day, June 1, the Democrats bared their own weakness — a fatal one, according to Republican seers. That day, Senator Mansfield (D.-Mont.), Democratic whip in the Senate and one of the national leaders of his party, spoke out in favor of a Big Four "summit" conference with Russia to seek a ban on hydrogen bomb tests — "another Geneva conference." This was the line that was adopted by Adlai Stevenson in the campaign last fall, a line that — most politicos agree — destroyed his last chances of election. President Eisenhower then — and again this week — stood out against this "appeasement" line and won, on an *America First* policy. The fatal weakness of the Democrats, it is clear, is that they continue to surrender to elements of their party which are "pro-appeasement" and "pacifistic."

Budget: Budget-cutting continues unabated, indeed with an additional twirl of zeal, despite attempts by the President to moderate this activity. Typical example this week was the windup of Congressional action on the Commerce Department money bill. Highlights :

(1) Final sum approved by Congress came to $597,790,225 — about 30 per cent below what the President had originally requested (about $834,800,000).

(2) Money bills are usually cut most heavily in the House. Sums are restored in the Senate, and then a compromise is reached between the two figures. Not so in this case. The House originally voted $653,685,060. This time the Senate cut the House figure, allowing only $613,584,290.

Then representatives of the two houses went into conference. Instead of "splitting the difference" (as usually happens), the conferees proceeded to cut the bill below both figures (to $597,790,225).

(3) In an obvious move to demonstrate Senate unanimity in the current Congressional economy drive, Democratic Leader Senator Lyndon Johnson called for a roll-call vote, although such final agreed-upon bills from conference frequently are passed by a simple voice vote. It passed, 67 to 0 — with 34 Republicans and 33 Democrats going on record for it.

(4) It is noted that this gesture of defiance was directed against Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, who originally objected to any cutting of his budget. Weeks startled old business and party friends by plumping strongly for the Eisenhower "high Budget," thus emerging as a "high spender" after a political career long marked by clamors for economy. By this time, conservative members have dubbed Weeks: "Harry Truman with a New England accent."

Labor Notes: A secret meeting held by the National Right to Work Committee in Washington recently included a half-dozen Senators, several score of Representatives and over 100 individuals from trade associations. The prevailing topic of discussion was "what to do about labor reform legislation." Two trends were noteworthy, according to a confidential informant who was present:

(1) Not once in all the proceedings was there the slightest suggestion of "union busting." All ideas advanced were on the basis of continuing protection of the right of collective bargaining and of the right of workers to organize for such ends. This picture, of course, is quite the opposite of that propagated by the labor bosses — who profess to find in any suggestion for basic labor reform the seeds of "destruction of unions."

(2) Sentiment at the gathering was skeptical of the value of the currently pending measure to regulate union pension and welfare funds.

Senator Frank J. Lausche (D.-Ohio), voiced the discontent of most of those present when he remarked: "The country is going to be very disappointed if the session ends with passage only of a law to regulate pension and welfare funds."

● A straw in the wind of legislators' attitudes on labor was seen in one proposal made in the Senate. The measure specifies that, not the Department of Labor, but the Securities and Exchange Commission be appointed the agent to supervise the collection of data on the union pension and welfare funds. The reason for so specifying, it was stated, was that the SEC would be more impartial, in labor matters, than the Department of Labor. The legislator who sponsored the measure was not an "old guard Republican," but a "liberal" New Deal Democrat — Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois!

Coexistence: The CBS television interview with Communist Nikita Khrushchev last week is tabbed here as the key maneuver in a renewed "coexistence" offensive. The press generally agreed that Khrushchev's remarks produced "nothing new." Why, then, put him in American living rooms? The answer: to help prepare the American people for a new period of "friendliness" between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Such speculation is stirred by a number of ominous events, in two fields of national policy — China and atomic energy (see "Fallout," below) — that coincided closely in time with the Khrushchev broadcast.

The developments concerning China were as follows: The decision of the British Government to "liberalize" its trade relations with Communist China, it is believed, may have the effect of dragging American policy further to the left. (President Eisenhower indicated to reporters that he agreed with the British view). In a statement released last Sunday, Alfred Kohlberg, a businessman with intimate knowledge of China and of Communist maneuvers concerning that country, showed that an intensive campaign is under way to achieve American recognition of the Peking regime.

Documenting the new, six-point "Maoist line" on China, Kohlberg stated: "There are strong indications that a concerted effort is now under way to condition

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the American people to first accept trade with Communist China; then accept the Peking regime as a member of the United Nations; all finally leading to United States recognition of the Chinese Communists."

Meanwhile, "liberal" commentators triumphantly seized the incident of the "Formosa riots" to advocate exactly the policy that Kohlberg predicted. *The Washington Post* commented that it should now be "plain" that "absolute dependence upon, and dedication to, Chiang Kai-shek to the complete exclusion of any eventual accommodation and settlement with the Chinese government on the mainland is monumental folly" (May 29).

On the British trade decision, the same paper said (June 1), that America, not Britain, was "going it alone." The *Post* rejoiced that there was now "dissent" from our "crumbling" policy offered by Senators Fulbright, Smathers and Magnuson. (The last-named, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Commerce, recently appointed a subcommittee to investigate our policy on trade with China. Members are: Magnuson, Smathers, Yarborough, Potter and Schoeppel).

Fallout: Washington watches with awe as the Reds, aided and abetted by "liberals" in a state of near hysteria, push their most intensive — and most triumphant — propaganda campaign in years. At the center of the campaign are the "fallout" hearings, which (although convened for the quite laudable purpose of gathering needed information), have turned into a sounding board for wild and unproved statements about the "hazards" of nuclear radiation. (Despite the insistent pounding of the alarmists, it is observed, President Eisenhower has, to date, resolutely held his ground).

Amidst last week's maelstrom of contradictory opinion, however, one witness at the fallout hearings did come up with some facts. He was Dr. Eugene P. Cronkite, who, as head of a Brookhaven National Laboratory medical mission, has closely studied natives of the Marshall Islands covered with radioactive fallout by a 1954 H-Bomb explosion. Since the Marshallese were only 100 miles from the point of detonation, their exposure was intensive. Here are Dr. Cronkite's observations on the effects of the fallout after three years:

". . . pregnancies are occurring normally and at [a] rate similar to other groups of Marshallese . . . The three babies irradiated in-utero have not shown any abnormalities . . . To date one must conclude that there has been no significant evidence for premature ageing or shortening of the life span of the Marshallese . . . To date no leukemia has occurred and there is no evidence of leukemia tendencies. . . ."

On one point only did Dr. Cronkite state that the exposure of the Marshallese might have harmed the "future generation": "Since the numbers of children are small," he said, "the data is not easily subjected to statistical analysis. However, there does seem to appear to be evidence suggestive of a slight impairment of growth and development as measured by comparison of height and weight in the control and exposed children."

On the whole, say analysts in the Capital, Dr. Cronkite's testimony indicated that the uproar over the dangers of "fallout" is baseless. NBC news analyst Merrill Mueller ("News of the World," June 3, 7:30 p.m.), reviewing the whole of Cronkite's statement before the committee, commented that it "should serve to reduce the amount of confusion and fear that has been spread by scare headlines."

● Further developments along the "fallout front" convince many on Capitol Hill that the Communists have thrown everything they have into the drive to ban H-Bomb tests. Representative Lawrence H. Smith (R.-Wis.), in a hard-hitting statement in the House, outlined the coordinated effort that is attempting to crowd America into disarming.

Smith analyzed the coverage given to Dr. Albert Schweitzer's "Declaration of Conscience" (identical cut versions of it appeared in *The New York Times* and the *Daily Worker*); the intensive chain-letter campaign staged by the Reds on the White House, urging an end to H-Bomb tests; and the unfounded statement of Dr. Linus Pauling that "10,000 are dead or dying around the world because of the atomic or hydrogen bomb tests carried out to date."

Pauling, a leader in the "fallout" campaign (he drafted an "appeal" signed by "2,000 scientists"), is invariably characterized in press stories as a "Nobel prize-winner." Some of his other distinctions, however, are not generally included in the news accounts. For instance, his numerous Communist-front listings — as detailed in the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. According to the *Daily People's World* (Communist paper on the West Coast) of November 15, 1950, Pauling refused to tell California investigators whether he then paid, or had ever paid, dues to the Communist party. His listings for front associations fill five single-spaced typewritten pages in the Committee's files. A Committee report for April 1, 1951, commented that Pauling's record indicated that he was "primarily engrossed in placing his scientific attainments at the service of a host of organizations which have in common their complete subservience to the Communist party U.S.A., and the Soviet Union."

The fact that "2,000 scientists" should have complied in Pauling's statement is not so shocking to Washingtonians as some other phases of the "fallout" maneuvering. Many "atomic scientists" have long shown a reluctance to have atomic weapons used in a conflict against the Soviet Union. [Dr. Medford Evans, writing in HUMAN EVENTS two years ago ("Mental Behavior in the Atomic Scientists," January 8, 1955), described the immense influence and upside-down thinking of this strange breed.]

Status of Forces: Spurred by last week's high-level decision to surrender American soldier William S. Girard to Japanese authorities, Congress is once more opening up the subject of America's "Status of Forces" agreements. Representative Thomas S. Gor-

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don (D.-Ill.), Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, has announced that his committee would hold hearings on the agreements — and the Girard case — beginning June 13. Senators Ervin and Flanders, forming a two-man investigating subcommitte, scored the Wilson-Dulles decision to surrender Girard, while Federal Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy directed the Government to "show cause" why Girard should not return to this country.

In a statement to HUMAN EVENTS yesterday, Representative Frank T. Bow (R.-Ohio), an inveterate foe of the "Status of Forces" agreements, commented: "It is ruinous to justify the surrender of Girard on 'circumstances' " — as President Eisenhower did at his Wednesday press conference — "rather than the provisions of the Japanese agreement. This merely invites demonstrations of so-called 'nationalism' by other countries who may want to pit their sovereignty against ours."

Weighing the controversial announcement by Wilson and Dulles, observers on Capitol Hill believe that the U.S. has struck a "deal" with the Japanese:

Girard is surrendered to appease anti-American sentiment in Japan (this was presaged in HUMAN EVENTS for May 25, 1957); then, the Japanese authorities try him and let him off with a "suspended" sentence. This outcome can then be broadcast around the United States as "proof" of the "fairness" of the "Status of Forces" treaties. The bureaucrats thus could turn a potential defeat — in the form of Congressional insistence that the treaties be revised or repudiated — into a propaganda victory.

Khrushchev as Prophet: In Washington, one economist thought that the Soviet leader might be right in predicting America will go socialist. He is Professor Harold B. Wess, professor of economics at American University, Washington, D. C. Wess said that the American socialist state might be just around the corner. "If the trend here is not changed or stopped," remarked Wess (who from his vantage point in the Nation's Capital has reasons to know), "it must inevitably bring us also to the brink, if not directly into, socialism and an economic system abhorrent to freedom loving Americans."

The Professor blamed the "socialistic trend" on labor unions, "confiscatory" taxes and the failure of Government leaders to adopt anti-inflationary measures.

FBI Reports: Conservative members of Congress view it as poetic justice that the Supreme Court decision threatening the inviolability of FBI files should have been authored by Justice William Brennan, Jr., the last target for attack by the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Nomination of the Fair Dealing New Jersey Democrat to the High Court was opposed bitterly by McCarthy early this year. The battling Wisconsinite contended Brennan's record demonstrated clearly a softness toward communism.

Splitting 7 to 1, the Court held that "justice requires no less" than that reports of FBI witnesses in a criminal prosecution be shown to the defendant. In effect, it gave the Government a choice of producing FBI reports or dismissing any cases based on such reports.

The outlook is that Congress probably will enact legislation to circumvent the new ruling and restore the vital integrity of FBI reports.

Representative Francis Walter, ranking Democratic member of the House Judiciary Committee as well as chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, already has introduced corrective legislation (H.R. 7915).

China Trade: Conviction grows in Washington that domestic politics was the prime factor in the British Macmillan Government's decision to ease its restrictions on shipments to Communist China.

Market-hungry business interests in the United Kingdom long have been clamoring for full resumption of their formerly profitable "China trade," and have won substantial, albeit short-sighted, popular support.

But the belief grows here that the British hopes of a swelling and profitable expansion of trade with Communist China face early disillusionment. China, according to reliable estimates, has neither the cash nor exportable goods with which to pay for any large quantity of British goods.

It is also noted that London talks hopefully of doubling its exports to mainland China. In 1956, British exports to Red China were approximately 10 million pounds, or one-third of one per cent of her total exports. Doubling that trade would add something less than $30 million to Britain's export totals, an insignificant amount for a country whose total exports last year were valued at over 3 billion pounds — or $8.6 billion.

Even these hopes are not expected to materialize. So badly has China been hit this year by both disastrous weather and localized peasant uprising, that it has had to curtail its exports drastically and impose a super-austerity regimen on its own people. Mao's chances of stepping up exports to pay for increased imports from Britain seem nil; and his sterling balances apparently have been depleted in paying for Russian goods.

National Committee: Washington is watching with interest the appearance of a new organization, the National Citizens' Committee to Curb Inflation, whose President is W. F. Rockwell, Jr., of the Rockwell Mfg. Co., and whose program director is Paul C. Stark of Louisiana, Mo. The latter announces scheduling of a two-day conference to be held in Washington at the Mayflower Hotel on June 24-25. "Our hope," said Stark," is that such a conference here in the Nation's Capital will highlight the causes and controls of inflation and serve as a sounding board to carry the story and the facts on how the fight against inflation must be waged by the people themselves."

The Committee is a nonprofit educational committee to familiarize people with the causes and controls of inflation and to show them how their demands for more Government spending feed the fires of inflation. If the people, as a result of such education, restrain requests for spending, then the fight against inflation will be strengthened — such is the thesis of the Committee. A local "pilot" operation was arranged by the Committee in Mexico, Mo. — prominent citizens of the town paid for a full-page ad in the local paper, run as an open letter addressed to Senators and Representatives in Congress. Copies of the ad were sent to 11,400 daily and weekly papers, with an offer to send mats of the ad. Responses came from all over the country and the movement sprang up in many other communities.

This development — say observers — may prove to be the national organization "to cut the Budget" long advocated by economy experts.

Letter from WALTER HARNISCHFEGER, President, Harnischfeger Corporation: "It is refreshing to read the unbiased appraisals of HUMAN EVENTS. Such competent and honest reporting deserves wide circulation."

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Article Section *Printed in Two Sections*

THE TRUTH ABOUT REUTHER

Sir Galahad's Common Cause with the Reds

By J. B. MATTHEWS

WALTER PHILIP REUTHER, Doctor of Laws (Wayne University), Doctor of Laws (St. Mary's College), Doctor of Laws (Boston College), Doctor of Humanities (West Virginia University), Doctor of Humanities (Wilberforce University), and Gaston Lecturer (Georgetown University), would appear to be a renowned scholar whose eminence in some undesignated branch of learning had merited extraordinary academic recognition.

Of course, if one knows anything about American colleges and universities, he will pass over Walter Reuther's impressive array of doctorates with a big horse laugh. Financial tycoons and political buffoons, as well as scholars, are the recipients of academic honors.

Actually, Walter Reuther never finished college. He chose instead to complete his education by a long sojourn in the Soviet Union.

Judged by the code of puritanical morals, Walter Reuther is a Sir Galahad among labor bosses. According to intimate associates, he does not dip snuff, imbibe intoxicating beverages, wager on the horses, shoot craps, commit petty larceny with union funds, or use obscene language.

Murray Kempton, a journalist who serves on the side as a public relations propagandist for the Reuther brothers, says that all over America there are people to whom Walter Reuther has appeared "like some Archangel Michael."

Stepping down to a lower level of sublimity, *The New York Times* declares that Walter Reuther possesses "the most engaging qualities of Albert Einstein and Van Johnson."

The *Saturday Evening Post* has likened Walter Reuther to "an undissipated Prince of Wales."

Around the banquet tables at the Astor Hotel in New York a few years ago, one thousand self-styled liberals listened to testimonial outbursts during which Chester Bowles, then Governor of Connecticut, pictured Walter Reuther as the man who has "spearheaded the development of the American dream."

Walter Reuther has always had the capacity (and in recent years the organization) to get himself in the news in a big way.

In addition to the large volume of day-to-day news about him, there is a rapidly growing Reutheriana in current books. In his newest book just off the press (*America's Next Twenty Years*), Peter Drucker illustrates his point that American politics have undergone a revolutionary change during the past sixty years by a transition "from Mark Hanna to Walter Reuther."

Drucker's observation tells in a compact phrase what could be expanded into a thick volume.

In the ten years of his presidency of the United Automobile Workers, Walter Reuther has supervised the spending of more than two hundred million dollars ($200,000,000) of union funds, much of which has been spent in the pursuit of political and ideological objectives.

There's more than one way to misuse union funds. Dave Beck's way is to appropriate union funds for his personal business interests. Reuther's way is to appropriate union funds for his personal ideological interests. Beck's misappropriations have apparently run into thousands of dollars; Reuther's have run into the millions.

Reuther's UAW balance sheet for the year ending December 31, 1956, shows total "fund" disbursements of $28,521,425. Of this grand total, $17,253,969 came from the "general fund"; $9,312,097 from the "international strike fund"; $918,543 from the "citizenship fund"; $181,032 from the "fair practices and anti-discrimination fund"; $575,595 from the "education fund"; and $280,186 from the "recreation fund."

How much of Reuther's vast treasury has been paid out to politicians or for political purposes, only a voucher by voucher accounting would reveal. One thing is fairly certain: no committee of the United States Senate is going to conduct such a probe.

Reuther has criticized Dave Beck sharply for invoking the Fifth Amendment in response to questions about his raids upon the Teamsters'

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Union treasury. His indignation toward Beck in this matter is not matched by any corresponding moral fervor on the subject of invoking the Fifth Amendment in response to questions about Communist Party membership. In February, 1952, the two top officers of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America (both of them having records of Communist affiliations extending over a period of many years) appeared as witnesses before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security and invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about Communist party membership. Fifteen months later, Walter Reuther personally welcomed them and their union into the CIO. Two months *after* Reuther had extended this personal welcome, vice-president of the DPO (William Michelson) invoked the Fifth Amendment in response to questioning about Communist Party membership by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Reuther's wrath was not in evidence.

Much of the current Reutheriana is a falsification of history. In his recent book entitled *The Practice of Unionism,* Jack Barbash writes: "Walter Reuther has always been a Communist bête noire." This is a glaring distortion of well-known history.

Walter Reuther was not a Communist bugbear when he and his brother Victor spent some 18 months in the Soviet Union. He was certainly not a Communist bugbear when they wrote their famous letter to the Melvin Bishops, ending with the exhortation, "Carry on the fight for a Soviet America." (The text of the letter follows this article.) He was not a Communist bugbear when he collaborated to the fullest with the Communist party leaders in the force and violence of the sit-down strikes, and in the founding of the UAW.

PUTTING ASIDE the ancient history of Walter Reuther's pro-Communist writing and collaboration, anyone who has been reading the Communist press during the past year knows that Reuther is not a Communist bête noire at the present time.

The most important resolution adopted at the recent convention of the Communist Party was not the one which dealt with "independence." Of far greater significance was the resolution entitled "Social Democracy and the Communists." Disdaining to conceal their aims, as Marx and Engels put it in the *Communist Manifesto* more than a hundred years ago, this resolution named names, making it crystal clear that Dave Dubinsky, Walter Reuther, A. Philip Randolph and the Americans for Democratic Action are the special objects of the Communists' present-day affections. "We strive for their cooperation, not liquidation," is the closing sentence of the resolution.

The key sentence of the resolution adopted by the Communist Party convention, cumbersome though it is with its long parentheses, must be understood as the revelation of the Communist party's major strategy in the immediate future. It reads as follows:

> **"To a degree the cooperation of labor reformists (trade union leaders who stand for capitalism and with no socialist background or traditions), social reformists (those labor leaders like Dubinsky, Reuther, Randolph, etc., who have a socialist background), and bourgeois reformists (liberal wing of the Democratic Party) in such organizations as Americans for Democratic Action is, in the absence of a mass Social Democratic Party in the U.S., and under the conditions prevailing in our country, performing the function of Social Democracy."**

During the past year, *Political Affairs,* the most authoritative medium through which the Communist party line of the moment is expounded, has the highest praise for Walter Reuther's program. In the June, 1956, issue, in an article signed by Erik Bert, we read: "Despite all obstacles, however, since the Reuther proposals are intended to meet the issues of peace, prosperity, and progress, they will undoubtedly tend to gather support in labor's ranks and thus influence the course of development in Congress."

What is Reuther's program, according to the writer in *Political Affairs?* Erik Bert's answer: "Reuther's two major points, taken together, provide for participation by the United States and the Soviet Union in a common effort to bring to the poverty-ridden peoples of the world the wherewithal for upgrading of their economies."

And how would Reuther attain this goal? The answer: "The United States should contribute two percent of its gross product each year (about $8 billion this year) for the next 25 years into a World Fund to provide economic and technical aid to less developed countries, whether aligned with the U.S. or not. The program would be administered through the United Nations and multilateral agencies. U.S. aid would be made available at once through existing multilateral agencies, pending UN action on the creation of the World Fund."

On the heels of this unilateral action in donating $200 billion to a nonexistent fund of the UN,

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what then? Answer, according to Walter Reuther: "The U.S. would request that the Soviet Union make a similar commitment of two per cent of its gross national product for the same purpose."

This hearty concurrence of the Communist party's *Political Affairs* in the program of Walter Reuther is an obvious bid for a new understanding between the Communists and the large following of the automobile workers' boss in the ranks of the Democratic party.

If anything more were needed, it is supplied by an article in *Political Affairs* entitled "The '56 Elections," by Albert E. Blumberg, national legislative representative of the Communist party who was recently convicted under the provisions of the Smith Act.

In Blumberg's article it was made clear that the present Communist objective is a political coalition which specifically includes the Communist Party, the New York *Post,* Americans for Democratic Action, and Walter Reuther's UAW.

AT THE TIME that his brothers, Walter and Victor, were writing revolutionary sentiments from the Soviet Union, Roy Reuther (who is also a big shot in the UAW) was expressing his Communist beliefs in the following language:

> The aim of socialism is to establish a Workers' Republic. In the achievement of this aim it is necessary to acquire possession of the state power so as to transform capitalist society into socialist society by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . We make no fetish of legality. The law in a bourgeois democracy is largely the law of property rights, laid down by those who have "rights" because they are owners. The class character of a capitalist society means that no institution or instrument set up by the capitalist class can be depended upon to establish the Workers' Republic . . . Workers' Councils organized in direct response to a growing revolutionary situation shall constitute the basic unit or organs by which the working class can carry through an armed insurrection . . . Once socialists are in possession of the state machinery by the mandate of the workers, their task is to secure and insure the governmental power for the victorious revolution by arming the workers for its defense against all possibility of a counter-revolutionary resistance, and to proceed to transform the economic and social basis of society.

Walter and Victor Reuther, Roy's brothers, probably wish they could expunge from the record that letter written from the Soviet Union on January 21, 1934. Their friends have either tried to ignore it or to brush it aside as a piece of youthful exuberance.

For example, the "liberal" weekly, *Commonweal,* devotes a single sentence to the Reuthers' experience in the Soviet Union, as follows: "Then came the year in Russia, during which he [Walter] and Victor taught tool-making to Russian workers, studied the Soviet system from the inside and decided they didn't want that kind of socialism." This is an abbreviated account which completely ignores the Reuther enthusiasm for Soviet communism, as expressed in the famous letter, and, by its condensation of the record, amounts to a gross distortion of history.*

Among Walter Reuther's loyal press agents is Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Schlesinger's political heroes of the "democratic left" are three in number: Franklin D. Roosevelt (of course); Aneurin Bevan, "in whom is distilled the whole tradition of British dissent"; and Walter Reuther, "labor's man of vision and will." It is noteworthy that Schlesinger brackets Aneurin Bevan and Walter Reuther together. With respect to Reuther, Schlesinger predicts: "Walter Reuther, the extraordinarily able and intelligent leader of the United Auto Workers, may well become in another decade the most powerful man in American politics."

*The text of this celebrated letter (containing the Reuthers' description of Soviet life in its entirety) may be found on page 4.

J. B. Matthews, one of America's foremost authorities on the subject of Communist subversion, was the first Research Director of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

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Following is the text of the letter from the Soviet Union, signed by Victor and Walter Reuther, as it appears in congressional records (emphasis supplied):

"January 21, 1934

"Dear Mel and Glad:

"Your letter of December 5 arrived here last week from Germany and was read with more than usual interest by Wal and I. It seemed ages since we had heard from you, so you might well imagine with what joy we welcomed news from Detroit. It is precisely because you are equally anxious I know to receive word from the 'Workers' Fatherland' that I am taking this first opportunity to answer you.

"What you have written concerning the strikes and the general labor unrest in Detroit plus what we have learned from other sources of the rising discontent of the American workers, makes us long for the moment to be back with you in the front lines of the struggle; however, the daily inspiration that is ours as we work side by side with our Russian comrades in our factory, the thought that we are actually helping to build a society that will forever end the exploitation of man by man, the thought that what we are building will be for the benefit and enjoyment of the working class, not only of Russia but the entire world, is the compensation we receive for our temporary absence from the struggle in the United States. And let no one tell you that we are not on the road to socialism in the Soviet Union. Let no one say that the workers in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are not on the road to security, enlightenment, and happiness.

"Mel, you know Wal and I were always strong for the Soviet Union. You know we were always ready to defend it against the lies of reactionaries. But let me tell you, now that we are seeing all the great construction, watching a backward peasantry being transformed into an enlightened, democratic, cultured populus, now that we have already experienced the thrill, the satisfaction of participating in genuine proletarian democracy, we are more than just sympathetic toward our country, we are ready to fight for it and its ideals.

"And why not? Here the workers, through their militant leadership, the proletarian dictatorship, have not sold out to the owning class like the S. P. in Germany and like the Labor Party in England. Here they have against all odds, against famine, against internal strike and civil war, against sabotage, against capitalist invasion and isolation, our comrades here have maintained power, they have won over the masses, they have transformed the 'dark masses' of Russia into energetic, enlightened workers. They have transformed the Soviet Union into one of the greatest industrial nations in the world. They have laid the economic foundation for socialism, for a classless society. Mel, if you could be with us for just 1 day in our shop you would realize the significance of the Soviet Union. To be with us in our factory Red Corner at a shop meeting and watch the workers as they offer suggestions and constructive criticism of production in the shop. Here are no bosses to drive fear into the workers. No one to drive them in mad speed-ups. Here the workers are in control. Even the shop superintendent has no more right in these meetings than any other worker. I have witnessed many times already, when the superintendent spoke too long, the workers in the hall decided he had already consumed enough time and the floor was then given to a lathe hand who told of his problems and offered suggestions. Imagine this at Ford's or Briggs'. This is what the outside world calls the 'ruthless dictatorship in Russia.' I tell you, Mel, in all the countries we have thus far been in, we have never found such genuine proletarian democracy. It is unpolished and crude, rough and rude, but proletarian workers' democracy in every respect. The workers in England have more culture and polish when they speak at their meetings, but they have no power. I prefer the latter.

"In our factory, which is the largest and most modern in Europe, and we have seen them all, there are no pictures of Fords and Rockefellers, or Roosevelts and Mellon. No such parasites, but rather huge pictures of Lenin, . . . etc., greet the workers' eyes on every side. Red banners with slogans 'Workers of the world unite' are draped across the craneways. Little red flags fly from the tops of presses, drill presses, lathes kells, etc. Such a sight you have never seen before.

"Women and men work side by side — the women with their red cloth about their heads, 5 days a week (our week here is 6 days long). At noon we all eat in a large factory restaurant where wholesome plain food is served. A workers' band furnishes music to us from an adjoining room while we have dinner. For the remainder of our 1-hour lunch period we adjourn to the Red Corner recreation, where workers play games. read papers and magazines or technical books, or merely sit, smoke, and chat. Such a fine spirit of comradeship you have never before witnessed in your life. Superintendent leaders and ordinary workers are all alike. If you saw our superintendent as he walks through the shop greeting workers with 'Hello, Comrade,' you could not distinguish him from any other worker.

"The interesting thing, Mel, is that 3 years ago this place here was a vast prairie, a waste land, and the thousands of workers here who are building complicated dies and other tools were at that time peasants who had never before even seen an industry, let alone worked in one. And by mere brute determination, by the determination to build a workers' country second to none in the world, urged on by the spirit of the revolution, they have constructed this huge marvelous auto factory which today is turning out modern cars for the Soviet Union. Through the bitter Russian winters of 45° below they have toiled with bare hands, digging foundations, erecting structures; they have, with their own brute strength, pulled the huge presses into place and set them up for operation. What they have here they have sacrificed and suffered for; that is why they are not so ready to turn it all over again to the capitalists. That is why today they still have comrades from the Red Army on guard at the factory at all times to prevent counterrevolutionists from carrying on their sabotage.

"About a 20-minute walk from the factory an entirely new Socialist city has grown up in these 3 years. Here over 50,000 of the factory workers live in fine new modern apartment buildings. Large hospitals, schools, libraries, theaters, and clubs have sprung up here and all for the use of those who work, for without a worker's card one cannot make use of all these modern facilities. Three nights ago we were invited to the clubhouse in 'Sosgor' (Socialist City) to attend an evening of enjoyment given by the workers of the die shop. Imagine, all the workers with whom we daily work came together that evening for a fine banquet, a stage performance, a concert, speeches, and a big dance. A division of the Red Army was also present as guests. In all my life, Mel, I have never seen anything so inspiring. Mel, once a fellow has seen what is possible where workers gain power, he no longer fights just for an ideal, he fights for something which is real, something tangible. Imagine, Mel, Henry Ford throwing a big party for his slaves. Here the party was no gift of charity from someone above, for we own the factory, we held the meeting and decided to have the party, and it was paid for from the surplus earnings of our department. What our department does is typical of the social activities which are being fostered throughout the entire factory and the entire Soviet Union.

"Mel, we are witnessing and experiencing great things in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are seeing the most backward nation in the world being rapidly transformed into the most modern and scientific, with new concepts and new social ideals coming into force. We are watching daily socialism being taken down from the books on the shelves and put into actual application. Who would not be inspired by such events?

"And now my letter is getting long and still I have said little, for there is so much to say and so little time in which to do it. We have written Merlin and 'Coach' rather lengthy letters and have requested they forward them to you to save duplicity of material. I believe there is little in this letter which they have not already received, so there will be no need of your forwarding this to them.

"A word about your letter. You mentioned that . . .

"Keep your eye on the S. P. It being affiliated to the Second International I am not so certain it is 'drifting' in the right direction, certainly not in the light of recent events.

"Let us know definitely what is happening to the Y. P. S. L. and also the Social Problems Club at C.C.C. . . .

"Carry on the fight for a Soviet America.

"Vic. and Wal."

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